

## SENATE

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1949

*(Legislative day of Monday, February 21, 1949)*

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our fathers' God and ours, we lift to Thee our grateful hearts for the national heritage that has come down to us, bought by other toils and other tears than our own. Help us this day with vivid vision to see them of old who feared Thy name and handed on to us the torch of the Nation's righteousness.

Especially do we give Thee thanks for the selfless service and the stainless record of that calm and courageous leader whose spirit and whose sword were Thy instruments in laying the foundation of our state. As we cherish his deeds and recall his farewell warning words, O God of Hosts, lest we forget, repeat in us the faith which shone on his illumined countenance lifted in an agony of prayer from crimsoned ground where patriots bled.

In these desperate days, drive us to our knees for the inner strength that steadied him whose name we reverence on his natal day. We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. LUCAS, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, February 21, 1949, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

## MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Swanson, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the following bills of the Senate:

S. 492. An act to amend the act approved June 29, 1948, entitled "An act to authorize the issuance of a stamp commemorative of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the city of Alexandria, Va."; and

S. 713. An act to amend Public Law 533 of the Eightieth Congress, authorizing the construction of a building for the General Accounting Office on square 518 in the District of Columbia.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 84) to provide for the acquisition and operation of the Freedom Train by the Archivist of the United States, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 164. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands to the Churntown Elementary School District, California;

H. R. 859. An act to clarify the overtime compensation provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, as ap-

plied in the longshore, stevedoring, building and construction industries;

H. R. 967. An act for the relief of the city of El Paso, Tex.;

H. R. 1401. An act relating to the disposition of certain recreational demonstration project lands by the State of Michigan to the Mount Hope Cemetery Association of Waterloo, Mich.;

H. R. 1509. An act for the relief of the city and county of San Francisco;

H. R. 1998. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the conveyance to Pinellas County, State of Florida, of certain public lands herein described," approved June 17, 1948 (Public Law 666, 80th Cong.), for the purpose of correcting a land description therein; and

H. R. 2101. An act to authorize the Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation of Washington, D. C., to make certain disaster or emergency loans, and for other purposes.

## CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LUCAS. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Hoey	Millikin
Anderson	Holland	Morse
Bricker	Humphrey	Murray
Broughton	Hunt	Neely
Butler	Ives	O'Connor
Byrd	Johnson, Colo.	Pepper
Cain	Johnson, Tex.	Reed
Capehart	Johnston, S. C.	Robertson
Chapman	Kem	Russell
Connally	Kerr	Schoeppel
Cordon	Kilgore	Smith, Maine
Douglas	Knowland	Stennis
Downey	Langer	Taylor
Eaton	Lucas	Thomas, Okla.
Ellender	McCarran	Thomas, Utah
Ferguson	McCarthy	Thye
Frear	McClellan	Tydings
Fulbright	McFarland	Vandenberg
George	McKellar	Watkins
Gillette	McMahon	Wiley
Green	Magnuson	Williams
Gurney	Malone	Withers
Hayden	Martin	Young
Hendrickson	Maybank	
Hill	Miller	

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. McGRATH], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MYERS], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are absent on public business.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BALDWIN], the Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. JENNER], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] are absent on official business.

H. R. 2926. A bill for the relief of George N. Weaver; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KLEIN:

H. R. 2927. A bill for the relief of Gyorgy Szilas, Anna Veronica Szilas, Sandor Czukur, and Jolan Spitzer Czukur; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McMILLAN of South Carolina:

H. R. 2928. A bill for the relief of Dr. Leon L. Konchegul; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'SULLIVAN

H. R. 2929. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Dorothy Manious; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PERKINS:

H. R. 2930. A bill for the relief of Harry M. Caudill; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PRESTON:

H. R. 2931. A bill to provide for the conveyance by the United States to Frank C. Wilson of certain lands formerly owned by him; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. SADLAK:

H. R. 2932. A bill for the relief of Horace J. Fenton; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCUDDER:

H. R. 2933. A bill for the relief of Charles F. Ellis; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. SHORT:

H. R. 2934. A bill for the relief of Daniel B. Meador; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMITH of Virginia:

H. R. 2935. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Benjamin Betts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SOMERS:

H. R. 2936. A bill authorizing Henry W. Rodney, a special agent of the Compliance Enforcement Division of the War Assets Administration, to accept the decoration tendered him by the Chinese Government; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WERDEL:

H. R. 2937. A bill for the relief of Eugenio Maisterrena Barreneche; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McKINNON:

H. J. Res. 173. Joint resolution to provide for the award of a gold medal to Frank Loesser; to the Committee on Armed Services.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

93. By Mr. GORSKI of New York: Petition of Councilman Pete Rybka, relative to rent control; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

94. By Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin: Resolutions of the Wisconsin Retail Hardware Association, Inc., at their annual convention held at Milwaukee, Wis., February 3, 1949; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

95. By Mr. HESELTON: Resolutions of the General Court of Massachusetts, memorializing the Congress of the United States to use all possible means to secure the release of Cardinal Mindszenty, of the Roman Catholic faith, and Bishop Ordass, of the Lutheran faith; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

96. By Mrs. NORTON: Memorial of the New Jersey House of Assembly, memorializing the President of the United States and the Secretary of State to exercise every force at their command to bring about the release of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty and Bishop Lajos Ordass, who have been incarcerated by the Communist-controlled Government of Hungary; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. DONNELL] is absent because of an engagement to deliver an address at the thirty-fifth annual joint celebration of the anniversary of the birth of George Washington, in Washington, D. C., under the auspices of a number of patriotic organizations.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Seventy-three Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the resolution of the Senate adopted on January 24, 1901, it was ordered that on the 22d day of February each year the Farewell Address of George Washington should be read to the Senate. The Chair, under that order, has designated for that purpose the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH] whom he now recognizes.

Mrs. SMITH of Maine advanced to the desk and read the Farewell Address as follows:

*To the people of the United States:*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty

or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not infrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism,—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present,

to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, suffering and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they addressed themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The north, in an unrestrained intercourse with the south, protected by the



equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *south* in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in a like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength; or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalry alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy

issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its hands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations,—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and maintaining within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our

political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power, and the right of the people to establish government, presuppose the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.—They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system; and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be involved, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions:—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country:—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion: and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain

all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit or party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves

within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasion of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.—To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently

prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes, that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it; can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, insti-



gated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessary parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!—Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith:—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in

frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collusions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect,

or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe; my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength, and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it

probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES,  
17th September, 1796.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred, as indicated:

#### REPORT ON PROPERTIES LEASED BY NAVY DEPARTMENT

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting, pursuant to law, the semiannual report of the Navy Department on real and personal property leased by that Department for the period ending December 31, 1948 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Armed Services.

#### REPORTS OF COMMISSION ON ORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT

A letter from the Chairman of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the Department of Agriculture (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

A letter from the Chairman of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on Agriculture Activities (appendix M) (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

A letter from the Chairman of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Appendices to Study of Departmental Management" (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

A letter from the Chairman of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Study of Departmental Management (pt. III)" (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

A letter from the Chairman of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on Federal field services (Vol. II Supporting Data by Geographic Entities) (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

A letter from the Chairman of the Commission on Organization of the Executive

Branch of the Government, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on Federal field services (Vol. I, Recommendations) (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate and referred as indicated:

By the VICE PRESIDENT:

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

"Assembly Joint Resolution 4

"Joint resolution relative to shipbuilding on Pacific coast

"Whereas since the termination of World War II shipbuilding on this Pacific coast has been practically discontinued; and

"Whereas there has been allocated by the Maritime Commission over \$2,000,000,000 for shipbuilding in these United States, said moneys being directed to be spent in eastern shipyards; and

"Whereas due to the shut-down of this important industry on the west coast billions of dollars' worth of equipment and materials are going to waste and thousands of skilled mechanics are being lost to this most important industry, which had a major part in the winning of the war; and

"Whereas fully realizing the serious situation that confronts the shipbuilding industry on the west coast, there has been organized since December 8, 1948, a west coast labor-management committee consisting of representatives of the 11 Western States, and appointed from that committee to make its status permanent are two members of management and two members of labor; and

"Whereas there has been a caucus called by Congressman WELCH in Washington, D. C., on Friday, January 7, of all west coast representatives for the purpose of stimulating interest and making a determined drive for the resumption of shipbuilding: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Assembly and the Senate of the State of California (jointly), That the Secretary of the United States Navy and the Maritime Commission be, and each of them are, hereby memorialized and urged to have immediate steps taken to have ships built on the west coast so that the shipyards which cost billions of dollars will not deteriorate, and equipment that is now lying idle be used, and that the craftsmen formerly employed in the industry be encouraged so that in the event of war new persons would not have to be trained as skilled mechanics, as the west coast shipyards are recognized as of the most importance in the defense of these United States; and be it further

"Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly be directed to forward copies of this resolution to the Secretary of the United States Navy, the United States Maritime Commission, the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

A resolution of the House of Representatives of the State of Montana; to the Committee on Finance:

"House Resolution 3

"Resolution memorializing and requesting the Congress of the United States for the enactment of legislation to aid the State of Montana in the enforcement of the cigarette tax now evaded by the use of the United States mails

"To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

"Your memorialists, the members of the House of Representatives of the Thirty-first Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana

now convened in regular session, respectfully request:

"Whereas the State of Montana has imposed a tax on the sale and use of cigarettes within its boundaries, and the revenues so obtained constitute a substantial portion of the revenues available and needed for its functions of government; and

"Whereas it has been brought to the attention of the House of Representatives of the State of Montana, now in regular session assembled, that a large and growing system of evasion of such tax law has developed; that the United States mails are flooded with advertisements and inducements to the citizens of this State to violate the law; that in numerous instances such advertisers entice prospective customers with statements to the effect that the use of the United States mails is sufficient proof of the legitimacy of such business and such system; that the mails of the United States are flooded with cigarettes in the process of delivery within this State, and on which cigarettes the tax required by the laws of the State have not and will not be paid; that this State is seriously injured and damaged in the loss of revenue from this source, and is at a disadvantage in collecting such lawful tax by and through such system; that the mails of the United States are being used for the express purpose of evading such tax and the enforcement of the laws of the State; and

"Whereas it has been brought to the attention of the House of Representatives of the State of Montana that there is now pending before the Congress of the United States a proposed bill which will aid the States by requiring shippers of cigarettes in interstate commerce to furnish to the taxing authority of the State to which shipped, a copy of the invoice on each shipment and the name and address of each person to whom shipped; and

"Whereas such legislation by the Congress of the United States will greatly aid this and the other States of the Union in the enforcement of its laws, and the collection of needed revenue: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Montana, That the Congress of the United States be and the same is hereby memorialized and respectfully urged to enact legislation requiring shippers of cigarettes in interstate commerce to furnish to the taxing authority of the State to which shipped a copy of the invoice on each such shipment; or to enact such other legislation as will aid the several States affected as may be proper; be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted by the secretary of state of the State of Montana to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, and to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Montana and they and each of them be requested to use all honorable means within their power and offices to bring about the enactment of legislation as herein mentioned."

A joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Washington; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

"House Joint Memorial 7

"To the Honorable Harry S. Truman, President of the United States, and to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"We, your memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Washington, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully petition as follows:

"Whereas the United States of America has acquired, is now acquiring, and plans to acquire, large areas of land within the State of Washington; and

"Whereas present laws do not enable the various acquiring agencies of the United States of America to pay to public bodies and political subdivisions of the State of



Washington compensation for the damages indirectly resulting from such acquisition; and

"Whereas large acquisitions of land within the State have reduced the tax base for real property taxes in some areas in the State to such an extent that it is no longer possible for such areas to adequately finance their operations; and

"Whereas portions of some irrigation districts are being acquired, with the result that such districts are being reduced in size and being made uneconomic by reason thereof: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Washington, do hereby respectfully memorialize and petition the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States to enact and approve at the earliest moment legislation enabling and authorizing acquiring agencies of the United States of America to pay to political subdivisions of the State of Washington and other States in the United States compensation for damages indirectly occasioned by the acquisition of real estate within the boundaries of such local political subdivisions, including authorization for payments in lieu of taxes and payments in lieu of assessments, and authorizing lump-sum payments to such political subdivisions, in lieu of annual payments, in lieu of taxes or assessments; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of this memorial be immediately transmitted to the Honorable Harry S. Truman, President of the United States, and the Secretary of the United States Senate, and the Clerk of the United States House of Representatives, and to each Member of Congress from the State of Washington.

"Passed the house January 21, 1949.

"Passed the senate February 16, 1949."

A resolution of the Senate of the State of Utah; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

#### "Senate Resolution 4

"Resolution by the Utah State Senate memorializing the Congress of the United States not to pass certain legislation now pending before the National Congress which, in effect, provides for State medicine but rather to encourage private cooperative health insurance

"Whereas there is now pending before the National Congress certain legislation commonly referred to as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell compulsory health insurance bill; and

"Whereas this program of compulsory health insurance is offered to the people as a solution to a supposed problem of inadequate medical attention for the citizens of this country; and

"Whereas it is acknowledged and unquestioned fact that the general health of the Nation is higher than that of any other nation of the world; and

"Whereas free enterprise, individual initiative, and freedom from Government interference are the foundation stones upon which the practice of medicine and all other great enterprises of this country have been developed; and

"Whereas such Government interference and regimentation in the field of medicine will destroy the spirit of research and individual initiative and will eventually result in a break-down of the present high standards of competency now prevalent in the private practice of medicine in this country; and

"Whereas a program of compulsory health insurance as proposed has been in operation in other countries and has proven extremely cumbersome and expensive and has not resulted in a general improvement of the public health; and

"Whereas the proponents of compulsory health insurance continually stress complete medical service without cost to the patient, which statements do not take into account

the increased taxation which will result from the inevitable Government bureaucracy that will be established in administering such a program; and

"Whereas the best interest of the people of the United States can be served by continuance of the free-enterprise system with encouragement given to private cooperative health insurance and without Government domination and control in the field of medicine: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate of the Utah State Legislature*, That the Congress of the United States be memorialized to defeat any legislation introduced into the Congress which provides for socialized medicine or national compulsory health insurance and which will result in a destruction of private initiative and the free-enterprise system in this country and that the Congress be urged to restrict its legislation to measures which will encourage private health insurance in cooperation with the private practice of medicine; be it further

*Resolved*; That the secretary of state of Utah be, and he is hereby, instructed to transmit forthwith a copy of this resolution to the congressional delegation from the State of Utah and to the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate of the United States."

A memorial of the Senate of the State of Arizona; to the Committee on Finance:

#### "Senate Memorial 1

"Memorial requesting immediate action by the President and Congress with respect to social-security payments to Indians on reservations

*"To the President and the Congress of the United States:*

*"Your memorialist respectfully represents:*

*"That the Federal Social Security Administration has threatened to withhold Federal social-security grants to Arizona unless Arizona assumes the obligation of the Federal Government with respect to the payment of indigent assistance to Indians living on reservations within Arizona.*

*"That Arizona, because of the effect of such threatened action on thousands of its citizens who are now receiving and require assistance, is being bludgeoned into accepting an obligation which it does not have and which it cannot afford to assume.*

*"That there has been introduced in the current session of the Eighty-first Congress legislation (S. 691) which, if enacted, will afford an equitable solution of the problem for all concerned.*

*"Wherefore, your memorialist, the Senate of the State of Arizona, requests:*

*"1. That the President, as head of the executive department of the Federal Government, direct the Federal Social Security Administration to cease and desist from withholding Federal social-security grants to Arizona, pending consideration by the Congress of the problem of assistance to reservation Indians.*

*"2. That the Congress give immediate consideration to, and enact, such legislation as will eliminate the present situation, assure to Indians living on reservations within Arizona the indigent assistance to which they are entitled, remove from worthy and eligible citizens of Arizona the current threat of hardship and distress, and relieve Arizona from the assumption of an unjustified and undue financial burden.*

*"Adopted by the senate February 9, 1949."*

A resolution adopted by the Propeller Club, port of Nashville, Tenn., favoring the enactment of legislation to provide funds for improvement in the locks and navigation facilities in the lower Cumberland River below Nashville; to the Committee on Appropriations.

A resolution adopted by the New York City (N. Y.) Federation of Women's Clubs, Inc.,

favoring the enactment of legislation to strengthen and extend rent control; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

A resolution adopted by the Council of the City of Pittsburgh, Pa., favoring the enactment of legislation to provide for payments to cities in lieu of taxes by housing authorities; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The petition of Nola Bayer, corresponding secretary, Mothers' Club, New York, N. Y., praying for the enactment of legislation to repeal the excise tax on luxuries, and so forth; to the Committee on Finance.

A resolution adopted by the New York City (N. Y.) Federation of Women's Clubs, Inc., favoring the enactment of legislation to repeal the excise tax on luxuries; to the Committee on Finance.

Resolutions adopted by the Bergen County (N. J.) Catholic Youth Organization; the Common Council of the City of Long Beach and the Council of the City of New York, both in the State of New York; and the Board of Aldermen of the City of Chelsea, Mass., relating to the trial of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A letter in the nature of a petition from Paul Hall, secretary-treasurer, Seafarers International Union of North America, New York, N. Y., praying for the enactment of the so-called Bland-Magnuson bill, relating to the American merchant marine (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

A letter in the nature of a petition from Simon Jarosinski, president, Polish-American Congress, Baltimore, Md., relating to the displaced-persons law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A resolution adopted by a conference of 400 civic leaders and representatives of groups and organizations of Greenwich Village, N. Y., relating to the trial of 12 Communist Party leaders in New York; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Resolutions adopted by the Common Council of the City of Fort Wayne, Ind.; the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee, Wis.; and the Board of Representatives of the City of Tampa, Fla., favoring the enactment of legislation proclaiming October 11 of each year as General Pulaski's Memorial Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A radiogram in the nature of a petition from Union Trabajadores Metalurgicos, of Ponce, P. R., relating to the minimum-wage law; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

A letter in the nature of a petition from E. A. Van Steenwyk, executive director, the Associated Hospital Service of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa., relating to compulsory health insurance (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

A letter in the nature of a petition from Benjamin Werne, of New York, N. Y., relating to labor legislation (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

#### RESOLUTIONS OF WISCONSIN RETAIL HARDWARE ASSOCIATION

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I present for appropriate reference and ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter which I have received from Mr. H. A. Lewis, treasurer of the Wisconsin Retail Hardware Association, Stevens Point, Wis., and four resolutions adopted by that splendid business organization in my State.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the letter and resolutions will be appropriately referred and printed in the RECORD.

To the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

WISCONSIN RETAIL HARDWARE  
ASSOCIATION, INC.

Stevens Point, Wis., February 16, 1949.

Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. WILEY: We enclose copies of four resolutions all adopted unanimously at the annual convention of this association, held at Milwaukee, Wis., February 3, 1949.

These resolutions set forth the position of our members with respect to: the fair-trade laws, the Wage and Hour Act, delivery pricing, tax equality.

We sincerely hope you will give the views of retail hardware dealers your earnest consideration.

I might point out that existing confusions due to the Administrator's rulings under the wage-hour law are to a large extent nullifying the evident intent of Congress to exempt retail and service establishments from the provisions of this act.

Confusions resulting from the ruling of the Federal Trade Commission and recent decisions of the Supreme Court, make it most necessary that Congress enact clarifying legislation.

We stand firm in our position that any person, firm, or corporation which engaged in business activities in competition with others engaged in similar activities should be taxed on the same basis with profits defined in a like manner.

It is our firm conviction that taxing cooperative corporations in the same manner as private enterprises will not put the cooperatives out of business as some charge. In fact, if cooperatives can succeed only if they enjoy tax favoritism, then they are not doing the job they claim to do.

This Nation needs every dollar of tax income it can collect without killing the incentive to earn. Let's tax those now escaping payment of their just share before we consider adding to the burden of those already double-taxed as all corporations now are.

Very truly yours,

H. A. LEWIS,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

#### Resolution on fair trade

Whereas return of the buyers' market may be expected to bring back the competitive evil of predatory price-cutting by the pirates of commerce whose principal weapon is bait advertising with the lure of low-price quotations on branded merchandise: Be it

*Resolved*, That we commend those manufacturers who have safeguarded their products against this piracy by the establishment of fair minimum prices under the fair-trade laws; be it further

*Resolved*, That we urge upon these manufacturers a policy of consistent vigilance in the enforcement of their fair-trade agreements; be it further

*Resolved*, That we urge other manufacturers of branded merchandise which is subject to price demoralization at the hands of price-cutters to utilize the privilege of price agreements under the fair-trade laws for the protection of their brands and their legitimate distributors and dealers.

#### Resolution on delivered pricing

Whereas pricing and delivery practices of long standing in the hardware industry, specifically freight absorption, delivered pricing and zone pricing, have come under a question of legality, due to various orders issued by the Federal Trade Commission and decisions of the United States Supreme Court; and

Whereas these orders and decisions have created a condition of grave uncertainty

among manufacturers and distributors engaged in interstate commerce and stand as a menace to the orderly and usual trade relationships existing between such suppliers and our members; and

Whereas ultimate enforcement of the policy embodied in these orders and decisions would result in a chaotic confusion of prices; and

Whereas conflicting views among enforcement authorities indicate that the present uncertainty and prospective disruption of business practices can be ended or avoided only through action of the Congress to more clearly define antitrust and other statutes regulating business: Be it

*Resolved*, That the Wisconsin Retail Hardware Association in convention this 3d day of February 1949, urge our Senators and Representatives in Congress to support such amendments or other bills as will clarify this situation and still maintain healthful competition.

#### To the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

##### Resolution on wage-hour law

Whereas the Eighty-first Congress is expected to revise the Fair Labor Standards Act (wage-hour law); and

Whereas the wage-hour law in its purpose and nature is designed to apply to industrial plants engaged in production of commodities for interstate trade and is not designed to apply to local commercial establishments; and

Whereas under the present wage-hour law confusion and uncertainty as to the status and liability of local retailers has persisted, due to interpretations made by the enforcing agency: Be it

*Resolved*, That we urge upon Congress the importance of drafting the amended law so as to exempt retailers clearly and completely and preclude any interpretation or construction that would attempt to apply the law to retailers.

#### To the Committee on Finance:

##### Resolution on tax equality

Whereas this has been called the year of decision on the question of taxing cooperative corporations; and

Whereas this is simply a question of fairness in the collection of taxes by the Federal Government, using the same rules in taxing the profits of cooperative corporations that are used in taxing the profits of other corporations engaged in the same kind of business and in competition with them: Be it

*Resolved*, That we deplore and decry the efforts of cooperatives, their advocates, and spokesmen to make of this simple question a political issue involving the usefulness of cooperatives to their farmer members as marketing and/or purchasing organizations; be it further

*Resolved*, That the Wisconsin Retail Hardware Association in convention this 3d day of February 1949, renew and reemphasize its support of tax equality and urge that the Eighty-first Congress by legislative amendment provide that all competing businesses be taxed alike. We insist that Federal tax legislation should embody the principle set forth by the Cleveland congress of the National Retail Hardware Association, as follows:

"1. That no exemption from Federal income tax may be allowed to any person, firm, corporation, or organization of any type or character on its profits resulting from the operation of any business of the same kind and character as that operated by any person, firm, corporation, or organization of any type which does pay Federal income taxes on its profits.

"2. That for the purpose of Federal income taxation, 'profit' shall be defined and construed to mean the difference between the production or purchase cost of a service

or commodity plus usual business expenses and the receipts from the sale of such service or commodity."

#### RESOLUTIONS OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY, COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I present for appropriate reference and ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of two resolutions adopted by the recent annual conference of the member communities of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds representing 263 organizations in more than 800 cities, held in Philadelphia in January with regard to the subject of displaced persons. These resolutions were sent to me by a distinguished civic leader and leader of Jewish organizations in my own State of Wisconsin, Mr. Irving G. Rhodes. Mr. Rhodes is also president of the west central region of the council. In a few days I expect to present a statement which I have personally prepared along the very lines of these resolutions. But, for the present, I ask unanimous consent that these statements be printed in the body of the RECORD and appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the resolutions were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### Resolution on International Refugee Organization

Whereas the International Refugee Organization has failed to meet its full responsibilities for the feeding, the clothing, the education, and the general care and resettlement of displaced persons; and

Whereas the Jewish voluntary philanthropic agencies, because of their unwillingness to see the survivors of the Nazi programs of extermination suffer further, have been forced to devote large sums of money to meeting the deficiencies of the International Refugee Organization; and

Whereas the International Refugee Organization has refused since May 15, 1948, to participate in the transportation of the Jewish displaced persons to Israel, although Israel is the only country in the world which provides large emigration possibilities to the Jewish displaced persons; and

Whereas the International Refugee Organization has the responsibility for obtaining funds and encouraging mass resettlement projects and has failed to investigate, study, or begin negotiations for developing a mass resettlement scheme in Israel; and

Whereas the United States Government is endeavoring to alter these policies; and

Whereas the present funds available to the International Refugee Organization are adequate to accomplish the primary purposes of care and resettlement of displaced persons: Be it

*Resolved*, That the general assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, representing the Jewish communities of America, commends the actions and policies of the United States Government has followed in its participation in the administration of the International Refugee Organization and that the President and appropriate committees of the Congress request a study to be made of the extent to which an unjustifiably heavy burden has been thrown upon philanthropic agencies for the care of displaced persons, and that it be further suggested that the appropriation for the fiscal year 1949-50 for the IRO be enacted under such conditions as will insure the proper policies with regard to expenditures of funds,



and that appropriate refunds be made to the voluntary philanthropic agencies for the basic responsibilities of the IRO which they have carried since July 1, 1947, particularly the payment of transportation costs for Jewish displaced persons emigrating to Israel since May 15, 1948.

#### Resolution on displaced persons

Whereas the Congress of the United States did not correct the unfair provisions of the present displaced-persons law in its last special session; and

Whereas the President of the United States has publicly condemned the act as restrictive and discriminatory: Be it

*Resolved*, That this general assembly of the Jewish communities of America urges the Congress of the United States to enact legislation which will eliminate all of the discriminatory provisions with respect to religion, occupation, and nationality. We ask that the fatal cut-off date of December 22, 1945, be eliminated, in keeping with the traditionally liberal policies of our country in affording a haven of asylum for the oppressed and needy peoples of other lands; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to Members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives and to the President of the United States acknowledging his enlightened views on this matter.

#### REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. McCARRAN, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 45) for the relief of the owners and operators of certain gold mines which were closed or the operations of which were curtailed by War Production Board Limitation Order L-208, reported it with amendments, and submitted a report (No. 79) thereon.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. MURRAY:

S. 1036. A bill authorizing the issuance of a patent in fee to Lavantia Pearson;

S. 1037. A bill authorizing the issuance of a patent in fee to Virginia Pearson;

S. 1038. A bill authorizing the issuance of a patent in fee to Ethel M. Pearson George;

S. 1039. A bill authorizing the issuance of a patent in fee to Lavantia Pearson, sole heir to Helen Pearson, deceased; and

S. 1040. A bill authorizing the issuance of a patent in fee to Leah L. Pearson Louk; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. CAPEHART:

S. 1041. A bill to authorize the construction of a new Federal building at Petersburg, Ind.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. McCARRAN:

S. 1042. A bill relating to the payment of fees, expenses and costs of jurors; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(Mr. McCARRAN also introduced Senate bill 1043, to amend section 1705 of title 18 of the United States Code, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and appears under a separate heading.)

#### PENALTY FOR DESTRUCTION OF MAIL RECEPTACLES

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to amend section 1705 of title 18 of the United States Code. I ask unanimous consent that the bill, together with a letter from the Postmaster General, be printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred, and, without objection, the bill, together with the letter, will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1043) to amend section 1705 of title 18 of the United States Code, introduced by Mr. McCARRAN, was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That section 1705 of title 18 of the United States Code is hereby amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 1705. Destruction of letter boxes or mail: Whoever willfully or maliciously injures, tears down, or destroys any letter box or other receptacle intended or used for the receipt or delivery of mail on any mail route, or breaks open the same, or willfully or maliciously injures, defaces, or destroys any mail deposited therein, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned not more than 3 years."

The letter presented by Mr. McCARRAN was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,  
OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL,  
Washington, D. C., February 14, 1949.  
The Honorable ALLEN W. BARKLEY,  
President of the United States Senate.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am submitting herewith, for consideration by the Congress, legislation to amend section 1705 of title 18 of the United States Code.

Section 1705 of title 18 of the United States Code is a penal statute relating to the destruction of letter boxes or mail. It is a revision of the law embodied in section 321 of title 18 of the United States Code (Criminal Code, section 198, amended), which provided as follows:

"Whoever shall willfully or maliciously injure, tear down, or destroy any letter box or other receptacle intended or used for the receipt or delivery of mail on any mail route, or shall break open the same, or willfully or maliciously injure, deface, or destroy any mail deposited therein, or shall willfully take or steal such mail from or out of such letter box or other receptacle, or shall willfully aid or assist in any of the aforementioned offenses, shall for every such offense be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 3 years."

As revised in section 1705 of title 18, United States Code, by Public Law 772, approved June 25, 1948, the law provides:

"Whoever, having charge or control of any conveyance destroys any letter box or other receptacle intended or used for the receipt or delivery of mail on any mail route, or breaks open the same, or willfully or maliciously injures, defaces, or destroys any mail deposited therein, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned not more than 3 years."

The law, as codified in section 1705 of title 18, United States Code, is so phrased that its application is limited to persons "having charge or control of any conveyance." As a result of this limitation, a person who, on October 13, 1948, maliciously injured a rural mail box at Madison, Conn., could not be prosecuted under this law "because there was no conveyance used nor was any of the mail destroyed." It was necessary to request the chief of police of Madison to take prosecutive action under the State laws. A copy of the report of the inspectors who investigated the case is herewith.

It is believed that the Congress did not intend to limit the application of the law in section 1705 of title 18, United States Code, to persons "having charge or control of any conveyance." Accordingly, this Department

strongly urges the enactment of the legislation submitted herewith, which, it is believed, will accomplish the purpose desired.

This Department has been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there would be no objection to the presentation of this proposal for the consideration of the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. DONALDSON,  
Postmaster General.

#### PRINTING OF ADDITIONAL COPIES OF HEARINGS OF COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE ON LABOR RELATIONS

Mr. THOMAS of Utah submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 74), which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

*Resolved*, That 1,000 additional copies of part 1 and each subsequent part of the hearings held before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on Labor Relations be printed for the use of said committee.

#### HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles, and referred, as indicated:

H. R. 164. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands to the Churntown Elementary School District, California;

H. R. 1401. An act relating to the disposition of certain recreational demonstration project lands by the State of Michigan to the Mount Hope Cemetery Association of Waterloo, Mich.; and

H. R. 1998. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the conveyance to Pinellas County, State of Florida, of certain public lands herein described," approved June 17, 1948 (Public Law 666, 80th Cong.), for the purpose of correcting a land description therein; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H. R. 858. An act to clarify the overtime compensation provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, as applied in the longshore, stevedoring, building and construction industries; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

H. R. 967. An act for the relief of the city of El Paso, Tex.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2101. An act to authorize the Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation of Washington, D. C., to make certain disaster or emergency loans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

#### HOOSIER! A WORD WITH HISTORY ALL AROUND IT—ARTICLE FROM THE WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

[Mr. CAPEHART asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Hoosier! A Word With History All Around It," from the Washington Times-Herald of February 21, 1949, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### CONGRESS THE SAFEGUARD OF LIBERTY—EDITORIAL FROM LABOR

[Mr. CAPEHART asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Dictators' First Move Is To Wreck Free Legislatures," from Labor for February 19, 1949, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### NOMINATION OF MON C. WALLGREN—EDITORIAL COMMENT

[Mr. CAIN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a number of editorials commenting on the nomination of Mon C. Wallgren to be Chairman of the National Security Resources Board, which appear in the Appendix.]

## MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bill and joint resolution, and they were signed by the Vice President:

H. R. 1252. An act to amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 with respect to the eligibility for appointment in the executive branch of the Government of former professional staff members of committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives; and

H. J. Res. 84. Joint resolution to provide for the acquisition and operation of the Freedom Train by the Archivist of the United States, and for other purposes.

## RECESS TO FRIDAY

The VICE PRESIDENT. There is no unfinished business before the Senate.

Mr. LUCAS. I move that the Senate stand in recess until Friday next at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until Friday, February 25, 1949, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1949

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Give ear, O Lord, unto our prayer, as we hear words of wisdom for the guidance and inspiration of a free people. By the holy ties which bind us together in happy families, by the love of country which inspires us to unselfish devotion, and by the still small voice which bids us go forward, we would exalt and magnify Thy holy name.

In these hallowed moments it is given us to realize the patriotic devotion and character of our forefathers. From the unseen heights Thou didst guide their broken columns as they toiled in sacrificial suffering to bring order out of chaos, service out of selfishness. Inspired by Him whose very soul recognized the sacredness of human freedom, we pray that we may be prophets of a new day, carrying faith into every section; faith in a God whose verities are eternal. In the spirit of our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Carrell, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 1252. An act to amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 with respect to the eligibility for appointment in the executive branch of the Government of former professional staff members of committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 198. An act for the relief of the city and county of San Francisco;

S. 208. An act for the relief of Ella L. Brownling;

S. 271. An act to provide for the appointment of an additional district judge for the middle district of Georgia;

S. 461. An act to clarify the provisions of section 602 (u) of the National Service Life Insurance Act of 1940, as amended;

S. 592. An act for the relief of Edwin B. Anderson;

S. 593. An act for the relief of certain postal employees;

S. 594. An act for the relief of John I. Malarin, former Army mail clerk at APO 932, a branch of the San Francisco, Calif., post office, relative to a shortage in his fixed credit account;

S. 624. An act for the relief of Herman A. Bennink;

S. 633. An act for the relief of Rachel D. Gattegno;

S. 634. An act to authorize payment of certain claims for damage to or loss or destruction of property and personal injury arising from activities of the Army;

S. 664. An act for the relief of Kihel Matsuo;

S. 745. An act to provide for the designation of the United States Veterans' Administration hospital at Chicago, Ill., as the Albert A. Sprague Veterans Memorial Hospital;

S. 748. An act for the relief of Charles L. Bishop;

S. J. Res. 36. Joint resolution for the authorization of a special contribution by the United States for the relief of Palestine refugees; and

S. J. Res. 42. Joint resolution granting the consent and approval of Congress to an interstate compact relating to the better utilization of the fisheries (marine, shell, and anadromous) of the Gulf coast and creating the Gulf States Marine Fisheries Commission.

## WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the order of the House of February 15, 1949, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CORBETT] to read Washington's Farewell Address.

## CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, since this is the most important message ever delivered to the Congress of the United States, or to the American people, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present, in order that all the Members may have an opportunity to hear it.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 21]

Abbitt	Beall	Bosone
Addonizio	Bennett, Fla.	Breen
Allen, Ill.	Bentsen	Brooks
Allen, La.	Biemiller	Bryson
Andresen	Bland	Buckley, Ill.
August H.	Blatnik	Buckley, N. Y.
Bailey	Bloom	Bulwinkle
Barrett, Pa.	Boggs, Del.	Burleson
Barrett, Wyo.	Bolton, Md.	Burton
Bates, Ky.	Bolton, Ohio	Byrne, N. Y.

Camp	Harrison	Potter
Canfield	Hart	Poulson
Carnahan	Havener	Powell
Carroll	Heffernan	Quinn
Celler	Herter	Ramsay
Chesney	Irving	Rich
Christopher	Jacobs	Riehlman
Chudoff	Javits	Rodino
Clemente	Jonas	St. George
Coffey	Jones, Mo.	Sasser
Cole, Kans.	Judd	Scott, Hardie
Colmer	Kean	Scott,
Cooley	Kelley	Hugh D., Jr.
Cotton	Kennedy	Scudder
Coudert	Keogh	Secrest
Crosser	Kerr	Simpson, Ill.
Cunningham	King	Sims
Curtis	Kirwan	Smith, Ohio
Davies, N. Y.	Klein	Smith, Va.
Davis, Tenn.	Kruse	Somers
Dawson	Kunkel	Steed
DeGraffenried	Lane	Stigler
Delaney	Lanham	Stockman
Dingell	Latham	Sutton
Dollinger	LeFevre	Taber
Donohue	Lichtenwalter	Tauriello
Doughton	Linehan	Taylor
Eaton	Lodge	Thomas, N. J.
Ellsworth	Mack, Ill.	Towe
Fallon	Macy	Van Zandt
Fellows	Mason	Velde
Forand	Merrow	Vorys
Fulton	Miller, Md.	Vursell
Furcolo	Morton	Wadsworth
Gamble	Murphy	Welchel
Garmatz	Nelson	Werdell
Gary	Norton	Wheeler
Gillette	O'Brien, Mich.	Whitaker
Gore	O'Hara, Ill.	Whitten
Gorski, N. Y.	O'Sullivan	Wickersham
Granahan	O'Toole	Wigglesworth
Granger	Patterson	Wilson, Ind.
Green	Perkins	Wilson, Tex.
Gregory	Pfeifer	Withrow
Hall	Joseph L.	Wolcott
Leonard W.	Philbin	Worley
Halleck	Phillips, Tenn.	Yates
Hand	Plumley	Zablocki
Hare	Polk	

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 260 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

## WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CORBETT] to read Washington's Farewell Address.

Mr. CORBETT read the Farewell Address, as follows:

*To the people of the United States:*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no defini-



ciency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations

in which not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism,—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can,

in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, suffering and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they addressed themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *south* in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in a like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength; or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater

strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalry alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its hands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations,—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every-

thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and maintaining within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power, and the right of the people to establish government, presuppose the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.—They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system; and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be involved, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions:—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country:—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion: and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit or party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.



It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasion of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.—To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and

to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes, that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it; can it be that Provi-

dence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessary parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!—Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and

powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith:—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collusions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a re-

spectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe; my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to main-

tain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength, and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES,  
17th September, 1796.

#### STILL THE GREATEST

Mr. WOODRUFF. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks I include the following editorial from today's Times-Herald:

#### STILL THE GREATEST

Today as we celebrate the two hundred and seventeenth anniversary of the birth of the Father of our Country, the trials and triumphs of George Washington, the patriot, the soldier, and the President will be honored in prayer and reverence, for Washington still is the greatest American yet of record. It is always interesting to speculate on why this is so.

What outstanding virtue did Washington possess? On what cornerstone was this giant among men built?



Was it integrity? Was it tenacity? Was it faith? Or was it character?

Gen. Douglas MacArthur has said George Washington was the outstanding general in United States history. He based his declaration on the fact that although General Washington was beset by defeat, forced to retreat, faced mutiny and desertion in the ranks and traitorous intrigues among his generals, was short on supplies and lacked support from the civilian population, he was still so powerful a leader that he held together an army in being through seven harrowing years, to win the final victory.

#### HE LED THE GREAT

When Washington became President his troubles on the new plane were just as difficult as the dangers that had threatened his military career.

President Washington had around him at the beginning of this constitutional Government, the ablest group of political thinkers and experts on government that have ever been on this earth, at one place at one time. They were men of such depth and vision that their efforts to form a free government for free people reached a success never equaled.

There were John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, to name a few. Each was an individualist although joined in the movement to create the new Government. And, it was Washington's task to keep them working together. The very existence of this country today is a monument to his success, yet history has yet to put its finger exactly on the single, elusive facet of Washington's many-sided nature that gave him the ability to control these explosive, individualistic geniuses—we just have to sum it all up with a one-word description. He had character.

With that, we pass on to review his greatest single accomplishment, and one which is too seldom mentioned these days by its right name—the Revolution.

George Washington is the only man who has ever directed a successful revolution. We say successful because he made it stick. The Government of the United States of America, that has developed out of the revolution Washington led, has weathered more than a century and a quarter and is alive and stronger today than ever. What has happened to the others?

#### FRENCH REVOLT A FAILURE

The French Revolution, following closely on the heels of the one in this country, threw off the yoke of kingly tyranny only to lose the battle for a stable permanent government. Its immediate result was the Reign of Terror. Next came Napoleon. Then more revolution. More blood, more horror, until this very day. The Government of France is still weak, subject to instant change and constantly afraid of another blood bath.

#### CHINA FLOP

At the turn of this century Sun Yat-sen organized one secret society after another and tried 10 times to oust the Manchu dynasty in China. He was successful in 1911. But, like the French, the Chinese were never able to consolidate their gains and reap the rewards.

Sun Yat-sen died before his dream of a national government for his country came into being. His mantle of leadership fell around the shoulders of his young general, Chiang Kai-shek. Only a few weeks ago the news services carried the story of Chiang's retirement. He could not make a go of it even after years and years of civil war.

#### RUSSIAN DICTATORSHIP

In 1917 the revolutionaries swarmed into power in Russia, through a series of assassinations, mutinies, and riots. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was born, and its advocates promised a new freedom. Thirty years later we find only horror and misery prolonged in their name.

And so history records the hopes and failures of mankind in the revolutions of the world but only one success—the handiwork of one George Washington. He used revolution as a weapon as others had before him and as others have since—but with this distinction: He knew when to stop. And he reached the pinnacle:

"First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

#### ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Thursday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

#### COMMISSION ON ORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, without establishing a precedent, I ask unanimous consent that whenever reports are filed with the Speaker by the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government pursuant to Public Law 162, Eightieth Congress, as amended, the Speaker may refer the said reports notwithstanding the fact that the House may not be in session.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not, as a member of the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, I can assure the House that the Commission will be very appreciative of the granting of this request propounded by the gentleman from Massachusetts, because there are quite a number of these reports that must be presented between now and March 15, and it may be possible that the House will not always be in session.

Mr. McCORMACK. I may say that the purpose of the consent request was that so far as the House was concerned there should be perfect understanding and cooperation between the House, the Speaker of the House, and the Commission of which the distinguished former President is the chairman and of which the distinguished gentleman from Ohio is a member.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

#### ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE FROM THURSDAY NEXT UNTIL THE FOLLOWING MONDAY

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns on Thursday next it adjourn to meet on the following Monday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

#### DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER. The Chair designates the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] to act as Speaker pro tempore on Thursday next.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KEEFE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. McCULLOCH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HARVEY].

Mr. HARVEY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an editorial from the Muncie Star, issue of February 17.

Mr. SHORT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a recent broadcast over the program Town Hall of the Air.

Mr. MULTER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances and include extraneous matter.

Mr. WHITE of Idaho asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances and include certain excerpts.

Mr. BURNSIDE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. BOLLING asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an article from the February 19, 1949, issue of Labor, the railroad labor official weekly.

Mr. NORBLAD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an editorial favoring 4-year terms for Congressmen.

#### SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday next, after disposition of the matters on the Speaker's table and at the conclusion of any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 1 hour.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. RODINO (at the request of Mr. HOWELL), for the period from February 22 to February 24, on account of illness.

To Mr. ADDONIZIO (at the request of Mr. HOWELL), for today, on account of official business.

To Mr. TAURIELLO (at the request of Mr. LYNCH), for today, on account of official business.

#### SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

Bills and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 208. An act for the relief of Ella L. Browning; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 271. An act to provide for the appointment of an additional district judge for the middle district of Georgia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 461. An act to clarify the provisions of section 602 (u) of the National Service Life Insurance Act of 1940, as amended; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

S. 592. An act for the relief of Edwin B. Anderson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 594. An act for the relief of John I. Malarin, former Army mail clerk at APO 932, a branch of the San Francisco, Calif., post office, relative to a shortage in his fixed credit account; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 624. An act for the relief of Herman A. Bennink; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 633. An act for the relief of Rachel D. Gattegno; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 634. An act to authorize payment of certain claims for damage to or loss or destruction of property and personal injury arising from activities of the Army; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 664. An act for the relief of Kihel Mat-suo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 745. An act to provide for the designation of the United States Veterans' Administration hospital at Chicago, Ill., as the Albert A. Sprague Veterans Memorial Hospital; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

S. 748. An act for the relief of Charles L. Bishop; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. J. Res. 36. Joint resolution for the authorization of a special contribution by the United States for the relief of Palestine refugees; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mrs. NORTON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill and joint resolution of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 1252. An act to amend the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 with respect to the eligibility for appointment in the executive branch of the Government of former professional staff members of committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives; and

H. J. Res. 84. Joint resolution to provide for the acquisition and operation of the Freedom Train by the Archivist of the United States, and for other purposes.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 27 minutes p. m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Thursday, February 24, 1949.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

252. A letter from the Chairman, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, transmitting to the Congress the Commission's report on reorganization of the Department of Agriculture (H. Doc. No. 80); to the Committee on Agriculture and ordered to be printed, with illustrations.

253. A letter from the Chairman, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, transmitting to the Congress a study, prepared for the Commission's consideration, on aspects of agricultural functions and organization in the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

254. A letter from the Chairman, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, transmitting to the Congress, in typescript, the detailed report, by agency, on departmental management which was prepared for the Commission's considera-

tion by the task force as a supplement to their summary report on this subject. This material is a further addition to the supporting data which accompanied the Commission's report on governmental management of the executive branch, filed with the Congress on February 7, 1949; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

255. A letter from the Chairman, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, transmitting to the Congress, in typescript, the recommendations made to the Commission by the task force which studied the Federal field services. This material is a further addition to the supporting data which accompanied the Commission's report on general management of the executive branch, filed with the Congress on February 7, 1949; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

256. A letter from the Chairman, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, transmitting to the Congress, in typescript, the appendices to the study of departmental management offered for the Commission's consideration by the task force as a supplement to their summary report on this subject. This material is a further addition to the supporting data which accompanied the Commission's report on governmental management of the executive branch, filed with the Congress on February 7, 1949; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

257. A letter from the Chairman, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, transmitting to the Congress, in typescript, the detailed findings presented to the Commission by the task force which studied the Federal field services. This material is a further addition to the supporting data which accompanied the Commission's report on general management of the executive branch, filed with the Congress on February 7, 1949; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

258. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a copy of the semi-annual report, for the period ending December 31, 1948, of real and personal property leased by the Department of the Navy under the authority of Public Law 364, Eightieth Congress; to the Committee on Armed Services.

259. A letter from the Comptroller General, transmitting a report on the audit of Federal Prison Industries, Inc., for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1947 (H. Doc. No. 81); to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments and ordered to be printed.

260. A letter from the Under Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill entitled "A bill to incorporate the Virgin Islands Corporation, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Public Lands.

261. A letter from the Administrator, Federal Security Agency, transmitting a draft of a bill entitled "A bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of June 25, 1938, as amended, by providing for the certification of batches of drugs composed wholly or partly of any kind of aureomycin, chloramphenicol, and bacitracin, or any derivative thereof"; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

262. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated May 28, 1948, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Nehalem Bay and River, Oreg., authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved on March 2, 1945; to the Committee on Public Works.

263. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated May 28, 1948, submitting a report, together with

accompanying papers, on a review of reports on the coast of the Great Lakes, harbors of refuge for light-draft vessels, particularly with respect to harbors of refuge at Braddock Bay and Hamlin Beach State Park, N. Y., requested by resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted on September 25, 1945; to the Committee on Public Works.

264. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated April 28, 1948, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Northeast River, Cecil County, Md., from Church Point to Stony Run, authorized by the River and Harbor Act approved on July 24, 1946; to the Committee on Public Works.

265. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated August 5, 1948, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a review of reports on Sandy River, Oreg., requested by a resolution of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted on February 8, 1946; to the Committee on Public Works.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CLEVENGER:

H. R. 2938. A bill to regulate oleomargarine, to repeal certain taxes relating to oleomargarine, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DOYLE:

H. R. 2939. A bill to authorize the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in financing a minimum foundation education program of public elementary and secondary schools, and in reducing the inequalities of educational opportunities through public elementary and secondary schools, for the general welfare, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. GAVIN:

H. R. 2940. A bill to provide for the issuance of a postage stamp in commemoration of the ninetieth anniversary of the beginning of the petroleum industry in the United States; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. JONES of North Carolina:

H. R. 2941. A bill to provide Federal aid to the States for the construction of armories and similar training facilities for the National Guard and Naval Militia; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. McGUIRE (by request):

H. R. 2942. A bill to provide for cooperation of the Federal and State Governments in the assessment of inheritance taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MULTER:

H. R. 2943. A bill to provide for the payment by the United States of premiums on bonds of Government officers or employees; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. MURRAY of Tennessee:

H. R. 2944. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, to provide survivorship benefits for widows or widowers of persons retiring under such act; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H. R. 2945. A bill to readjust postal rates; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. PETERSON (by request):

H. R. 2946. A bill extending certain recognition and rights to temporary members of the United States Coast Guard Reserve, including the Voluntary Port Security Force,



and members of the Coast Guard Auxiliary; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. PRIEST:

H. R. 2947. A bill to prohibit the unauthorized use of the name or insignia of the Future Farmers of America, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 2948. A bill to make it a Federal crime to transport in interstate or foreign commerce trailers or semitrailers knowing that they have been stolen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RHODES:

H. R. 2949. A bill amending Pay Act to cover all Sunday, holiday, and overtime duty; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. SADOWSKI:

H. R. 2950. A bill for the exemption from the educational requirements for naturalization of aliens who are over 50 years of age and have resided in the United States continuously since prior to July 1, 1924; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SANBORN:

H. R. 2951. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to announce the parity price of milk, and to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to immediately announce the support price of milk; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. TALLE:

H. R. 2952. A bill to amend and supplement the act of June 7, 1924 (43 Stat. 653), and to amend section 9 of the act of May 22, 1928 (45 Stat. 699, 702; 58 Stat. 265; 16 U. S. C. 581h); to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. TRIMBLE:

H. R. 2953. A bill to provide that the pension of a helpless child of a veteran shall not be discontinued on such child's marriage; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. WILLIS:

H. R. 2954. A bill granting the consent and approval of Congress to an interstate compact relating to the better utilization of the fisheries (marine, shell, and anadromous) of the Gulf coast and creating the Gulf States Marine Fisheries Commission; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 2955. A bill to provide for the construction of a post office at New Iberia, La.; to the Committee on Public Works.

H. R. 2956. A bill to confirm and establish the titles of the States to lands and resources in and beneath navigable waters within State boundaries and to provide for the use and control of said lands and resources; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H. R. 2957. A bill to amend the Institute of Inter-American Affairs Act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FISHER:

H. R. 2958. A bill to amend section 14 of the Wool Products Labeling Act of 1939 (approved Oct. 14, 1940, Public Law No. 850, 76th Cong., 3d sess.); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. TOLLEFSON:

H. J. Res. 174. Joint resolution for the purpose of erecting adequate Federal office and postal facilities in Tacoma, Wash.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H. J. Res. 175. Joint resolution to reimburse uncompensated leave to Government Printing Office employees earned during the fiscal year 1932; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. MURRAY of Tennessee:

H. Res. 114. Resolution authorizing and directing the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to conduct thorough studies and investigations relating to matters coming within the jurisdiction of such committee under rule XI (1) (e) of the rules of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

H. Res. 115. Resolution providing for the expenses incurred by House Resolution 114; to the Committee on House Administration.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, relating to their concurrent resolution asking Congress to immediately provide for the continued operation of the Pipestone Indian School at Pipestone, Minn., and the reopening of the hospital at said school; to the Committee on Public Lands.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arizona, relating to their Senate Memorial 1, requesting immediate action by the President and Congress with respect to social-security payments to Indians on reservations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, relating to their Senate Joint Memorial 2, urging the Congress to appropriate \$500,000 to be administered in cooperation with the noxious-weed program of the constituted authorities of the State of Idaho; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Washington, relating to their House Joint Memorial 7, relative to land acquisitions and tax base for real-property taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Utah, relating to their Senate Resolution 3, asking that national rent control be abandoned; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Utah, relating to their Senate Resolution 4, asking Congress not to pass certain legislation now pending before it, which in effect provides for state medicine, but to encourage private cooperative health insurance; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

97. By the SPEAKER: Petition of James W. Patterson, city clerk, Pittsburgh, Pa., petitioning consideration of his resolution asking Congress to enact legislation providing for payments to cities in lieu of taxes by housing authorities, etc.; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

98. Also, petition of Ray M. Scuder, secretary-manager, Texas Hardware and Implement Association, Dallas, Tex., petitioning consideration of their resolutions with reference to the wage and hour law and tax equality; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

99. Also, petition of Maurice J. Fleischman, city clerk, Long Beach, Calif., petitioning consideration of his resolution condemning the conviction and sentence of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty and urging action to secure his release; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

100. Also, petition of Willis Sherrill, secretary, Florida State Townsend Council, West Palm Beach, Fla., petitioning consideration of their resolution requesting the early passage of H. R. 2135 and H. R. 2136, bills to provide every adult citizen in the United States with equal basic Federal insurance and old-age retirement benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

101. By Mr. RABAUT: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Michigan (H. Con. Res. 17) protesting to the world the ruthless and unjust exercise of autocratic power in connection with the trial and conviction of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

102. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Mrs. Marie S. Fogus, secretary, New York City Federation of Women's Clubs, Inc., New York, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution asking the Congress to repeal the excise taxes on luxuries; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1949

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore, Mr. McCORMACK.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Dear Lord of light and mercy, we lift our hearts in gratitude for the spirit that protects us, for the light that lifts the curtain of darkness, and for the tokens of the promise of a new day.

Father, pity us when we put our trust in superficial beliefs and when we boast of our own virtues; purge us of our pride, and deepen the channels of experience that look through the lens of brotherly love. Help us that all may find in Thee a true pattern of self-forgetfulness; here may we build our sacrificial altars and realize that the brotherhood of man is the fatherhood of God. In the name of our elder Brother Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, February 22, 1949, was read and approved.

#### ELECTION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 116) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the designation of Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK, a Representative from the State of Massachusetts, as Speaker pro tempore be approved by the House, and that the President of the United States and the Senate be notified thereof.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. As I understand, this is the customary resolution to meet a situation, so that bills may be duly enrolled and presented for signature?

Mr. MANSFIELD. The gentleman is correct.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair requests the gentleman from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] to administer the oath of office to the Chair.

Mr. MANSFIELD administered the oath of office as Speaker pro tempore to Mr. McCORMACK.

#### SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 25 minutes today, following any special orders heretofore granted.